

# MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN

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## CONTENTS

<b>SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF THE CIVIL WAR WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MINNESOTA</b>	
Lester B. Shippee	389
<b>NOTES AND DOCUMENTS</b>	413
The Historical Records of the Scandinavians in America; Rev. Arthur E. Jones; Removal of the Sioux Indians from Minnesota	
<b>REVIEW OF BOOKS</b>	426
Pelzer, <i>Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley</i> ; Stephenson, <i>The Political History of the Public Lands</i> ; Bel- den, <i>The Fur Trade of North America</i>	
<b>MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NEWS</b>	432
<b>NEWS AND COMMENT</b>	435

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## SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF THE CIVIL WAR WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MINNESOTA<sup>1</sup>

No people can pass through a period of abnormal existence without some modification of its fundamental institutions, more or less profound. Even though the period of abnormality be short and the ruffling of the surface of things apparently insignificant, the path of the destiny of that people takes a new turn and never can affairs be put back upon the old footing. Wars rank among the most potent of modifying influences. Nevertheless all wars do not equally produce immediate and perceptible changes in the life of a nation. While more spectacular and politically significant, the American Revolution did not remold the lives of the people of the United States as did the titanic European struggle to eject Napoleon, wherein the War of 1812 was one of the closing chapters.

The Civil War in the United States has been, down to the present conflict in which we are engaged, the most momentous and the most highly significant armed struggle which has wrenched our people out of the beaten track. Leaving out of consideration the political effects of this strife as well as the legal and social results of putting an end to domestic slavery, the student of the period of the war and the years immediately following perceives the rise of new forces in the social order and the submergence of older factors. All portions of the Union, however, were not equally affected. The South, obviously, was most radically modified, both during the war and in the following reconstruction period. Yet the North by no means emerged from the contest unchanged, although it was

<sup>1</sup> An address read at the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, January 14, 1918.



but little affected by the ravages of contending armies and subject to nothing of the blighting economic depression which spread its pall over all the seceding states.

In April, 1861, the industrial organization of the North was attuned to peace. For four years preceding the fall of Sumter the country had been slowly emerging from the hard times following the panic of 1857, and, but for the political cloud on the horizon, everything appeared propitious for a new era of prosperity. Factories turned the product of the southern cotton fields into cloth, while mines were sending to the smelters the ore which would yield the metal for all the varied industrial demands of an age of steam. Better prices and ample labor stimulated the farmer to produce the food stuffs and raw products which a reviving industry demanded, while good wages made the laborer's position better than anywhere else in the world. To be sure, there were flies in the economic ointment; mutterings about the railroads were later to become articulate; the germ of the subsequent disputes between labor and capital could be discerned by a keen observer; and there were some who questioned whether there might not come a time of reckoning with the problems growing out of the concentration of population which accompanied the factory system. Nevertheless, if the troublesome issues arising from slavery could be compromised away, as had been the case so many times before, it was possible to face the economic future with confidence.

When it was realized, however, that the war was to be something more than a holiday excursion to Richmond, the future began to appear less rosy. The stopping of the cotton supply caused the mills of the North to slacken their activities. Soon, when the accumulated stock of fibre was exhausted, the hum of the spindles nearly ceased, and, while some operators attempted to keep their employees busy with repairs, improvements, and extensions for a time when normal conditions should be restored, many of them were obliged to shut their doors and see their help drift off into other work. Frantic



efforts were made to substitute other fibres, but little success attended these endeavors. Hopes were raised high when portions of the southern coast fell before the exploits of the Union armies and navy, only to be dashed by the meagreness of the bales obtained. Even when New Orleans was captured, only a small amount of cotton was secured. To be sure a little trickled through the lines in exchange for articles needed in the South, even for war munitions in some cases, and this was sold to manufacturers, or more often to speculators, at rapidly mounting prices. Cotton fabrics became so scarce that silks from the Orient could be obtained more easily and more cheaply.

If cotton manufacturing had been dealt a staggering blow, many other industries were inordinately stimulated. All sorts of supplies for the armed forces were in great demand; the metal industries were rushed to capacity; cloth for uniforms was desired in such quantities that the mill-owner stilled for a time his incessant plea for protection and yet more protection. The cry for wool made sheep raising upon the barren hills of northern New England profitable once more, and hundreds of hitherto almost worthless farms were turned into paying sheepwalks. Shoddy came into its own, even though soldiers in the field complained that their uniforms dropped to pieces in a few weeks. Shoes and boots for the army gave an impetus to factory production of these articles which was now possible because of an adaptation of Howe's sewing machine. Leather soared and cattle raising thrived.

Whatever surplus of labor was loosed upon the community by the stopping of a few industries was rapidly absorbed by the extraordinary demands in other branches, and soon the cry of shortage in the labor market was heard. This appeal became more insistent as the armies grew and absorbed thousands of young men. Yet, when it is considered that the Union forces were made up principally of boys in their teens and young men in their early twenties, it can be perceived that the greatest part of the labor power of the country was



not turned from productive to destructive activity. Two factors, moreover, served to relieve the labor situation: the substitution of women for men workers, and the use of labor-saving machinery. It was at this time that women began in large numbers to take positions hitherto almost exclusively filled by men; the schoolma'am ruled in the place of the school master, and the female clerk, it was discovered, was as efficient as her brother. Whatever was gained in the economic struggle by women during the war was not relinquished at its close, and furthermore a great impetus was given to the demand for women's equal rights, economic, social, and political.

But if the transition advanced materially the cause of women in certain aspects, it brought other and sadder changes. The need for ready-made clothing stimulated sweatshop methods. Hundreds of women, old and young, pushed to the wall by mounting prices and by the removal of male wage-earners, eked out a bare living sewing for army contractors and subcontractors at the scantiest of wages. Again Howe's invention, made practicable just before the outbreak of the war, contributed both to rapidity of supply and to heart-breaking toil.

It was in the agricultural field, however, that machinery as a substitute for man power made itself most evident. The armies had to be fed as well as clothed; not only that, but ample allowance had to be made for the inevitable waste which attends military operations. Without the mowing machine, the horse rake, and the reaper it is impossible to conceive how the armies or the civilian population could have been fed, or surplus of wheat raised and sent abroad to help maintain the credit of the United States in the mart of the world. To labor-saving devices, more than to any other one cause, was due the tremendous increase in the production of food stuffs in the fields of western New York and Pennsylvania, and of the Northwest. Still, machines could not take the place of human labor entirely, and while the agricultural West raised no such complaint of shortage of labor as did the manufacturing East,



women had to work in the fields to sow and harvest the crops, particularly in the last two years of the war when the draft was garnering in a constantly increasing number of youths.<sup>2</sup>

It was not enough to produce the food and the other raw products. They had to be transported to the front, to the manufacturing centers, and to the seaboard for export. One of the decisive adverse factors with which the Confederacy had to contend was a most inadequate railroad system, constructed wholly from Northern and European materials, while one of the elements contributing to Union success was a network of lines which not only connected the interior with the seaboard but linked remote communities with the business centers of the North.<sup>3</sup> In the later period of the war some portions of the South were on the verge of starvation while others had an unusable surplus of food; Lee's army, for instance, was destitute in Virginia when Alabama had all the necessities in abundance. On the other hand, after it had been gathered at the primary distributing centers by rail or by river boat, the wheat of Minnesota, Iowa, Illinois, and Wisconsin poured into New York from Milwaukee and Chicago either by rail or by the Great Lakes and the Erie Canal.

The railroads were not slow to realize that they held the whip hand. Prior to the war Atlantic ports competed with New Orleans as outlets for the products of the upper Mississippi and the Ohio; long usage gave the southern port advantages not easily overcome. When, however, the Confederate government realized that the Northwest was going to throw its lot with the Union the Mississippi was closed, and traffic had to be diverted to the welcoming but not necessarily benevolent competitors. They were not averse to making all possible use of their commanding position, to the end that the farmer could complain that an unduly large portion of the fruits of

<sup>2</sup> Frederick Merk, *Economic History of Wisconsin During the Civil War Decade*, ch. 1 (Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1916).

<sup>3</sup> Carl R. Fish, "The Northern Railroads, April, 1861," in the *American Historical Review*, 22: 778-793 (July, 1917).



his labor was absorbed in transportation charges. In no small degree did this extortion add to the already existing dissatisfaction with railroad treatment and precipitate the "anti-monopoly" revolt which came at the close of the war as a precursor to the Granger agitation and legislation of the early seventies.<sup>4</sup>

Not content with the added tonnage and consequent receipts which the closing of the river gave them, the railroads took steps to throttle local river transportation. Wherever the rails tapped a territory which was also served by river boats, cut rates forced the cheaper carrier to lay up, except where a persevering independent continued to carry on a precarious business. Moreover, all possible steps were taken to divert to rail points traffic which logically should have sought non-competitive river facilities. At a time, then, when one would expect that traffic on the upper river and its affluents should have shared in the benefits of war commerce, there came a falling off. For instance, in 1862 St. Paul had the largest number of boat arrivals during the war (1015) exceeded only by those in 1857 and 1858 (1026 and 1068). Thereafter the decline which ensued was continued with occasional spurts of renewed life. What was true of St. Paul obtained at the ports on the smaller streams.<sup>5</sup>

Minnesota necessarily shared in the economic transition which affected the whole Northwest. Yet, inasmuch as Minnesota was still in the midst of her pioneer endeavors, it is difficult to determine with any precision just what should be charged to war conditions and what to a continuing primitive stage of development. When territorial status was proclaimed in 1849 fewer than 5,000 souls lived in Minnesota, but such was the rush to virgin lands that the census of 1860 disclosed a population of 172,022. The next five years saw this number nearly doubled, but in the five years following the war a

<sup>4</sup> Merk, *Economic History of Wisconsin*, ch. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Merk, *Economic History of Wisconsin*, ch. 14; Minnesota, *Statistics*, 1869, p. 107.



smaller proportionate gain in population was made than in the war era. There were 250,099 persons in the state in 1865, in 1870 there were 440,076. Nevertheless this was an average annual increase of 15.19 per cent, and in the decade from 1860 to 1870 only Nebraska and Kansas had higher rates of increase.<sup>6</sup>

The war did affect the relative proportions of males and females. Whereas in a normal community which has passed through the earlier formative stages the number of females is slightly in excess of the males, in 1860 Minnesota's male population exceeded the female by 8.22 per cent; in 1870 this disproportion had somewhat disappeared for the males were only 6.84 per cent more numerous, yet the state census of 1865 showed that the females were outnumbered by but 5 per cent. In the census returns after 1870 the approach to a normal relation of the sexes demonstrated that pioneer days were rapidly becoming a thing of the past.

As a result of the inpouring of people, despite the ample response of Minnesota to Lincoln's calls for soldiers, there was no such dearth of labor as was experienced, for instance, by her neighbor, Wisconsin. Late in 1863 and during 1864, when more plentiful money accompanied renewed activity, especially in railroad construction and in lumbering, there is some evidence that there was a heavier demand for labor, yet nowhere does there seem to have been such a shortage as was experienced in the agricultural and lumbering states across the Mississippi. Again, while wages increased somewhat between 1861 and 1864, the average for common laborers in the latter year was not as high as in Wisconsin.<sup>7</sup>

In common with all the rest of the United States the increase in wages was not at all proportionate to the rise in prices of all sorts of commodities. There was nothing unusual in the way that prices of necessities soared during the war; similar

<sup>6</sup> Minnesota, *Statistics*, 1870, p. 116.

<sup>7</sup> Governor's message, January, 1865, in Minnesota, *Executive Documents*, 1864, p. 19; Merk, *Economic History of Wisconsin*, ch. 6.



phenomena have been observed among every people engaged in a great armed struggle. Nevertheless, large amounts of fiat currency issued by the United States served to aggravate the prevailing tendencies. In the West, however, the greenback was not looked upon with the disfavor it encountered in the older portions of the Union. Contrasted with the depreciated notes of state banks, the United States note was indeed the "best money" the West had ever known, and to the local economist there was in it no evil except its limited amount.

State banking, which was usually accompanied by secured and superabundant note issues, forms one of the least pleasing features of the early history of most of our frontier states from the beginning of the century down to the time the national banking act began to operate in full force. Minnesota had not escaped the prevailing passion and had sought to eke out the scanty supply of specie trickling into her commercial channels by authorizing banks to issue upon securities regarded by outsiders with suspicion and not sound enough to prevent great depreciation. The war, however, did not produce so much added disturbance in the exchange value of notes secured by railroad bonds as it did in Wisconsin and Illinois where bonds of southern states had been largely used as a guaranty. In fact, after a time, the war proved a blessing so far as Minnesota's currency situation was concerned. Not only did the greenback afford relief, but the state banks chartered during the war based their issues upon state and national bonds of one sort or another and so inspired a confidence which had been almost lacking previously. But no greater alacrity to take advantage of the national banking act of 1863 was shown by banking interests in Minnesota than was the case in other states. Many new state banks were incorporated but only two national banks had received charters before Congress, in March, 1865, forced all banks of issue to enter the new fold or go out of existence.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Sydney A. Patchin, "The Development of Banking in Minnesota," in the *Minnesota History Bulletin*, 2: 159-168 (August, 1917).



While relief had come by 1863, the previous two years had been a period of great money stringency in the state. Specie disappeared from circulation as it did all over the United States; money was almost impossible to obtain and exorbitant rates of interest were charged.<sup>9</sup>

Investigation of the agricultural phase of war economics in Minnesota is complicated by the difficulty of determining whether the truly remarkable progress exhibited by the state was a result of the war or came in spite of the war. Undoubtedly there would have been a great development under normal conditions, for, prior to the outbreak of hostilities, the earlier steps had been taken and the temporary setback produced by the panic and hard times had been overcome. Untouched lands have ever tempted man to exploitation, and Minnesota's millions of fertile acres have proved no exception to the rule. On the other hand the high prices of wheat and other grains unquestionably stimulated production. Despite the Indian outbreaks and a devastating drouth in 1862 and 1863 the wheat harvest advanced from 5,101,432 bushels in 1860 to 9,475,000 bushels in 1865. As the assistant secretary of state remarked in his annual report, "the development of agriculture kept even pace with the population." Moreover, a high yield per acre encouraged more men to sow wheat.<sup>10</sup>

The new homestead policy of the federal government added to the total available public lands open to settlement. These were already extensive for, in addition to the school and university lands and swamp lands which had been donated to the

<sup>9</sup> One of Ignatius Donnelly's correspondents asks his aid in obtaining the payment of a loan of fifty dollars, the interest on which was three per cent a month. Schriver to Donnelly, November 12, 1862, in the Donnelly Papers. The papers of Ignatius Donnelly comprise one of the larger and more important collections of manuscript material in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. They consist mainly of the letters received by Donnelly, supplemented by his own letter-press books. See *Minnesota History Bulletin*, 1:133 (August, 1915).

<sup>10</sup> Minnesota, *Statistics*, 1869, p. 9; Commissioner of statistics, *Minnesota: Its Resources and Progress*, 1872, p. 27.



state and territory, enormous grants for railroad purposes, amounting eventually to nearly twelve million acres, were open to purchase or to preëmption. In 1863 a total of 463,296 acres was taken up; this amount increased in 1864 to 665,750, and in 1865 to 804,982 acres. After the close of the war this rate of increase was not maintained; in 1866 a smaller acreage passed into private hands than in the previous year, and in 1869 there was only a slight increase over 1865. *Post bellum* depression and poor harvests in these two years in part explain the falling off.<sup>11</sup>

Minnesota was not unaffected by the prevalent stimulus which was given to certain activities. Naturally those related to some branch of husbandry received the greater attention. Attempts were made to find substitutes for the cane sugar and molasses which could no longer be obtained from Louisiana. Sorghum was the most promising of these substitutes, and it was tried out on a considerable scale. While this plant yielded a syrup of good quality, all efforts to cause it to crystallize into sugar proved fruitless. It was thought that tobacco might be raised and so free the North from dependence on the South for this article, but no very serious attention was given the crop during the war. It was not until the period of high prices in 1868 and the years immediately following that farmers of the Northwest believed there were sufficient prospects of a paying crop to invest much time or money in its growth.<sup>12</sup>

Wool, however, was in a different category. The high price of this commodity early stimulated the Minnesota husbandman to try his luck at supplying a portion of the demand in the hope of securing a share of the enormous profits of the successful sheep raiser. The number of sheep in the state in 1864 was slightly over 97,000. Importations and natural

<sup>11</sup> Minnesota, *Statistics*, 1869, p. 127.

<sup>12</sup> Merk, *Economic History of Wisconsin*, 35-37; Minnesota, *Statistics*, 1870, p. 35. John Wass wrote to his congressman, Donnelly, December 13, 1863, asking for tobacco seed for himself and for the benefit of Minnesota. Donnelly Papers.



increase sent this number to 193,045 in 1866. The high expectations were not realized, however, for in 1869 the number of sheep in the state had fallen to 135,450, while the next year saw another decrease. A report of the state department said, "It will hardly be claimed that even the more moderate expectations respecting the growth of wool have been justified by the results yet obtained; and it is undeniable that this important interest has experienced a serious decline, and labors today under great depression."<sup>13</sup> Experience proved that the lateness of the spring in this northern climate caused the lambing season to come too late for the best development of flocks, and men soon drew out of this branch of husbandry as rapidly as they could.

Next to agriculture, lumbering received the strongest impetus from the war. In common with Wisconsin and Michigan, Minnesota possessed vast resources in standing timber, of which the white pine covering much of the northern portions of this section was considered most valuable. In 1863, after a depression in the first years of the war which was more seriously felt in Wisconsin where greater development had already taken place, the prices of lumber began to jump and continued to rule high. In 1864 the pineries of Minnesota, like those of western Wisconsin, were precluded from taking advantage of the price of twenty-three dollars a thousand in Chicago, by the unusually low water in the branches of the upper Mississippi; but the next year saw a different situation and millions of feet were floated down to market. Peace brought a great slump in the lumber market, and it was not until 1867 that reviving conditions pushed the price even higher than it had been during the war.<sup>14</sup>

The Fifties had, down to the panic, been a boom period for lumbermen, signalized by the concentration of thousands of acres of valuable timber land in the hands of a few operators. The fraudulent use of half-breed scrip, among other means,

<sup>13</sup> Minnesota, *Statistics*, 1869, p. 43; 1870, p. 36.

<sup>14</sup> Merk, *Economic History of Wisconsin*, 61-63.



had contributed to the alienation of much public wealth.<sup>15</sup> During the war a stop was put to this easy method of appropriating the public's wealth, but in 1868 a more complaisant secretary of the interior opened the door again and the merry scramble was resumed. Railroad lands, too, offered an opportunity to the energetic and not too scrupulous lumberman, which, coupled with an easy attitude on the part of state officials, further served to build up enormous holdings. A single illustration, by no means extreme, serves to indicate what opportunities lay open to the astute. The firm of Hersey, Staples, and Dean (Hersey, Staples, and Hall after 1866) was organized in April of 1861. When the partnership was dissolved in 1875 each of the three associates was able to take as his third of the accumulated holdings a hundred thousand acres of timber land. Coöperation of state officials, as well as local agents of the federal government, with favored lumbermen also aided the latter, not only to secure the land itself, but, in some cases, to allow cutting of timber at a more than reasonable valuation without the necessity of buying the soil which grew the trees. This was a variant of the scrip frauds.<sup>16</sup>

The war both retarded and promoted the construction of railroads in Minnesota. When the vast land grant to the prospective state was made by Congress in 1857 for the purpose of forwarding the building of lines which should connect distant points with the more settled portions and also link Minnesota up with her neighbors, everybody looked to a period of prosperity even more intense than that which had existed in the preceding few years. But the panic in the same year spelled doom to such anticipations. Although the land was

<sup>15</sup> William W. Folwell, *Minnesota, the North Star State*, 112-120 (Boston, 1908).

<sup>16</sup> George W. Hotchkiss, *History of the Lumber and Forest Industry of the Northwest*, 531 (Chicago, 1898); "Report of the Pine Land Committee" (Senate), March 3, 1874, in *Minnesota, Senate and House Journal*, 1874, pp. 541-552; *Testimony Taken by the Committee on Invalid Pensions*, 59 (44 Congress, 1 session, *House Miscellaneous Documents*, no. 193—serial 1707).



granted to companies, it was impossible to secure sufficient money for construction either in the East or in Europe. Land was a drug on the market. State bonds were issued to the chartered companies as the grading of successive strips of roadbed was completed. These were formally like other bonds, but in the minds of the people who had amended the state constitution so that the "credit" of the state might be loaned they were merely a form, for it was intended that the railroads themselves should pay the obligation. New York capitalists, moreover, looked askance at any kind of new securities, especially those which had to do with new enterprises whose returns were problematical. The net result was the defaulting of the railroad companies, while Minnesota had a few score miles of poorly graded roadbed to show for an obligation of nearly two millions known as the "Five Million Loan." The retraction of the amendment of 1858 and a regrant of the lands to newly organized companies in 1861 and 1862, brought the completion of only ten miles of track, and this was the situation when the war had gone on for a year.<sup>17</sup>

The regrant of lands and privileges which the old companies had forfeited, together with easier money, injected some show of life into railroad enterprises, and when 1863 closed there were fifty-six and a half miles ready for operation. The following year saw over thirty miles added and at the end of 1865 over two hundred miles of railroad existed in the state.<sup>18</sup> But to counterbalance this was the alienation of thousands of acres from the public domain, as well as the spectre of that "Five Million Loan," which was to come up year after year until the ghost was finally laid in 1910.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> William W. Folwell, "The Five Million Loan," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 15: 189-214.

<sup>18</sup> Minnesota, *Statistics*, 1869, p. 105.

<sup>19</sup> In the spring of 1858 the voters of Minnesota adopted an amendment to the constitution providing that the "credit" of the state, to the amount of five million dollars, might be loaned for the purpose of facilitating the construction of railroads. In the following two years \$2,275,000 worth of bonds were issued to four companies which had complied with



Except in flour milling and in the manufactures of lumber, Minnesota did not share in the industrial burst of the northern states during the war. Even in these lines, while the proportional increase was impressive, the absolute results were not correspondingly great. The total number of manufacturing establishments rose from 562 in 1860 to 2057 in 1870; yet the capitalization of all these concerns was only \$11,806,738.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, this showing was not bad for a pioneer state so young as Minnesota, even though the major portion of the increase came in the last half of the decade. Milling of flour and the primary processes of lumber manufacture accounted for more than half the total capital invested and nearly half the number of establishments, while these two lines gave employment to approximately one-third of the persons engaged in industrial pursuits. Some beginnings are seen in the fabrication of sashes, doors, and blinds, furniture, machinery, agricultural implements, carriages and wagons, harness, and a few other articles.

After Lee surrendered in 1865, it took a little time for a society grown accustomed to war conditions to adjust itself again to peace. A temporary economic stagnation accompanied the return of the armies to everyday existence. This slackening was, however, of short duration. The world marvelled at the ease with which a million men who had just laid aside their arms could be absorbed into the economic life of the com-

the requirements by grading nearly two hundred and fifty miles of road-bed. The companies, however, failed to fulfill other obligations and the governor was forced to start foreclosure proceedings which resulted in the transfer of all their privileges and property to the state. The bonds, which had greatly depreciated in value, were in form an obligation of the state, but all attempts to secure payment were of no avail until 1881 when provision was made for the issue of Minnesota state railroad adjustment bonds in exchange for the old ones. The liquidation of these refunding bonds was completed in 1910. Folwell, "The Five Million Loan," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 15: 189-214; Rasmus S. Saby, "Railroad Legislation in Minnesota, 1849 to 1875," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 15: 30-49.

<sup>20</sup> Minnesota, *Statistics*, 1870, p. 63.



munity, causing scarcely a ripple upon the surface of the social fabric. Minnesota, in common with the rest of the states of the West, was an important factor in the process. Her vacant and inviting lands, which could be obtained for a trifling cash investment plus a large amount of energy, fortitude, and patience, stood ready to receive all those who were unwilling to return to their old homes to try to fit themselves into a situation which had grown strange in their absence. The population of the state increased between 1865 and 1870, by nearly two hundred thousand, while the taking up of railroad, state, and federal lands kept even step with the march of the inpouring flood.<sup>21</sup>

It was not, however, returning soldiers alone who swarmed to Minnesota. Up to 1865 the population elements of the state were not much dissimilar from those of her neighbors of the Northwest, or for that matter, of the whole North. In 1860 something over two-thirds of the inhabitants were of native birth. Those of foreign birth, who totalled 58,728, were mostly Irish, Germans, English, and British Americans, just about the same racial elements to be found anywhere from New York to the Mississippi. In 1864 the legislature enacted a law to "organize a system for the promotion of immigration to the State of Minnesota" in order to offset the further drain which might be anticipated on account of the war, as well as to secure settlers for waiting prairies. Pamphlets in the English, German, and Scandinavian tongues were printed and spread broadcast to picture the possibilities of the region as well as to remove many misapprehensions as to the soil and especially the climate. Beginnings of Scandinavian immigration had been made as early as the late Fifties, but in 1860 this element comprised less than 12,000 of the 172,000 people in the state. These, like the Germans, had for the most part moved on from Wisconsin. But the seed had been planted. The watering came when a board of immigration was created

<sup>21</sup> Commissioner of statistics, *Minnesota: Its Resources and Progress*, 1870, p. 31.



in 1867, with Hans Mattson its secretary. Mattson held the position of land agent for one of the railroads which traversed some of the most desirable portions of the state, hence he was able to give definite directions as to favorable points for settlement.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps to this man, more than to any other one factor is due the great Scandinavian migration to Minnesota. In 1870 Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes comprised thirteen and one-half per cent of the population, and had already begun to impress upon the state an indelible mark. In 1860 there had been only half as many Scandinavians as there were in Wisconsin; by 1870 Minnesota had over fifty-nine thousand as against Wisconsin's forty-eight thousand. The Swedes alone were pressing close to the lead of the Irish, and in a year or so overtook and passed this element. Only the Germans could rival the Scandinavians and even they comprised but 48,457 souls as against 59,390.

When men return to the primitive passions brought by war there is necessarily a loss of much of the hardly won refinement which can be a product of peace alone. How long after the struggle there will be seen the results of this relapse is a matter difficult of determination. All students of the Civil War, however, have noted that the years immediately following 1865 presented an unusual number of examples of low public morality. This was the period when the Whisky Ring was profiting at the expense of the federal government, and when federal officers connived at gross irregularities as well as shared in the profits. The *Crédit Mobilier* not only was an example of "high finance" in railroading, but it served to blast several public careers as well as to sully the reputations of prominent men who were not completely overwhelmed by the public wrath which followed exposure. The manipulations of the Tweed Ring in New York, aided by its intimate relation with certain Wall Street interests, exemplify in an exaggerated degree, perhaps, the degradation into which most of the larger

<sup>22</sup> Secretary of state, *Annual Report*, 1866, p. 113; Hans Mattson, *Reminiscences, the Story of an Immigrant*, 97-100 (St. Paul, 1891).



municipalities had fallen.<sup>23</sup> The whole civil service of the United States had become so honeycombed with corruption and inefficiency that the reform element of the Republican party could, in its campaign from 1870 to 1872, urge with great force the need of a complete housecleaning. The old guard itself could not present any defense and was forced to adopt at least in form the principles of the reformers.

It would be easy to say, of course, that all this array of horrible examples, which was exposed to view in investigation after investigation from about 1870 on, could be paralleled at many other times in the history of this country or of other nations. It might be said that every now and then a people has a spasm of reforming zeal and while in this mood can find evidences of corruption and laxity if it looks with sufficient care; that the period, say from 1872 to 1875, was just one of these periods. Furthermore it might be added that a panic followed by hard times is likely to produce soul searching on the part of a stricken population; religious revivals vie with judicial and legislative investigations.

Still this does not wholly dispose of the case. Not alone in the United States after the Civil War, but in Germany after the Franco-Prussian War, for instance, keen observers noted a recklessness, an abandon, which characterized the economic and social life of the people. Everybody was enjoying good times, nobody was interested in counting pennies or in inquiring too carefully into the doings of his neighbor so long as his own particular activities were not interfered with. In such times the public official who inclined to make the most of his position could pursue his course without much fear interruption, while the man who desired to remain honest was sorely tempted when he perceived the ease with which he, too, might

<sup>23</sup> Charles F. Adams, "A Chapter of Erie," in Charles F. Adams Jr. and Henry Adams, *Chapters of Erie, and Other Essays*, 4-99 (Boston, 1871); Charles F. Wingate, "An Episode in Municipal Government," in the *North American Review*, 119: 359-408; 120: 119-174; 121: 113-155; 123: 362-425 (1874-76).



profit in the way others were doing. There is no doubt that the later years of the war and those immediately following were permeated with this spirit, and that public opinion was generally inclined to laugh at the "smart" man more than to be indignant at pilferings or gigantic steals. Our civilization is too thin and too recent a veneer to stand much hard rubbing, and war rubs hard. Moreover, the veneer cannot be renewed immediately after the struggle ends.

Did Minnesota experience any of this general laxity which followed the war? If evidences are found shall they be attributed to a continuation of pioneer times, when there is a certain lack of regard for the finer products of civilization, such as the perception of more delicate degrees of public morality; or shall they be accounted for by the fact that Minnesota shared with the rest of the conquering North in a debauch of moral let-down? It would be hard to give a categorical answer to such a question. It may be said, however, that the late Sixties and the early Seventies saw a sufficient development of Minnesota to warrant confident belief that the worst aspects of the pioneer stage ought to have been things of the past. Nevertheless there are many indications that a deplorable laxity, if nothing worse, permeated the community and manifested itself in various irregular transactions.

One of the most spectacular of the revelations enjoyed by the newspaper reading public was that attending the Seeger Investigation and impeachment. It must be said at the outset that the legislature of Minnesota, by paying the state treasurer a salary of only one thousand dollars a year, actually, if not deliberately, encouraged all sorts of irregularity. It appeared that for years before this investigation, which came in 1873, the state treasurer was accustomed to "loan to and let bankers and business firms have the use of large sums of the State fund" as well as to draw upon the county treasurers for moneys not yet due and have personal use of such funds, sometimes for many months. Furthermore the books of the treasurer's office were in such a condition that it was impos-



sible to obtain an adequate idea of the financial status of the commonwealth. When there came a change in the treasurer's office the new incumbent, who happened to be the father-in-law of the outgoing treasurer, concealed the fact that large sums belonging to the state were not actually turned over, although subsequently the deficit was made up.<sup>24</sup>

Such an opportunity as this to attack the party in power was not to be overlooked by the Democratic "outs," and this attack in turn provoked other revelations. It was discovered that county treasurers were also in the habit of failing to regard the distinction between the public funds and their own money.<sup>25</sup> They loaned the county's money to banks and other business firms, and in some instances, at least, received the interest themselves. It was further charged that sometimes bank officials had exerted themselves to secure the election of a particular man as county treasurer, and if the campaign proved successful the bank was not the loser. And then, when a leading Republican paper could seriously argue that nobody of men would convict a man for shielding his son-in-law, there is evidence that the standard of public morals was not overly high, to say the least.<sup>26</sup>

The disclosures made in 1873 were followed by equally sensational ones the next year. Just before the Seeger Investigation had lifted the lid, the *St. Paul Daily Press* had reviewed the various departmental reports submitted to the

<sup>24</sup> *Report of the Special Senate Investigating Committee, Appointed to inquire into the Condition of the State Treasury*, 5-7 (St. Paul 1873); *Proceedings of the Senate of Minnesota, sitting as a High Court of Impeachment for the Trial of William Seeger, Treasurer of State* (Minneapolis, 1873).

<sup>25</sup> The *St. Paul Daily Press*, in its issue of February 27, 1873, affirmed that this was happening in all the Democratic counties, and admitted that the same thing might have occurred in Republican counties as well.

<sup>26</sup> *St. Paul Press*, March 6, 8, 1873; *Report of the Special Senate Committee, Appointed to Investigate the Management of the Office of State Auditor, prior to January, 1873*, 55 (1875). In February, 1874, William Murphy wrote that "there is something rotten in the management of county affairs." Murphy to Donnelly, February 4, 1874, in the Donnelly Papers.



legislature, and, among other comments, took particular pains to felicitate the state upon the efficient service rendered by the state auditor. He "closes an administration," the *Press* remarked, "which has been substantially coextensive with the ascendancy of the Republican party in his State, embracing in its four official terms a period of twelve years, with a terse statistical record of the varied questions during that time of the more important departments of the State Government under his control, which will form an enduring memorial of the general economy, prudence and beneficence which have, on the whole, characterized the management of State affairs by the Republican Party, and of Mr. McIlrath's own conspicuous and honorable share in its marked successes."<sup>27</sup>

The McIlrath Investigation of 1874 demonstrated the truth of the statement made by the *Press* about the "conspicuous" share of the late state auditor. It was found that the auditor, in performing his functions as land commissioner, had been in the habit of accepting notes secured by a lien upon logs cut instead of cash payments for timber sold to lumbermen. In many instances before any payment was made the logs would have been disposed of. He sold timber at far below the market price; he connived at agreements among prospective purchasers of standing timber whereby there was no competition in bidding; he had kept in his own name and had received the interest on bonds purchased with money from the school fund, although eventually the bonds were credited to the fund. All the accounts of these, as well as other transactions were kept in such an ill-ordered manner that McIlrath himself testified before the investigating committee that he could not explain them. In all a sum of not less than one hundred thousand dollars was unaccounted for, as a result of "irregularities" beginning at least as early as 1866. In addition to the above, McIlrath had acquired, in 1868, an interest in a firm which entered into a contract with the state for the purchase of the

<sup>27</sup> *St. Paul Press*, February 1, 1873.



right to cut timber on some thousands of acres of university lands. It is no wonder certain lumbermen were anxious for the reelection of McIlrath at a time when some opposition seemed to be developing, especially when it is considered that, in addition to reasons which may be suspected from the foregoing statements, there had never been a prosecution of trespassers upon the state timber lands during his incumbency. As a matter of fact, the committee found that "extraordinary inducements were held out to parties to cut timber as trespassers."<sup>28</sup>

Give all allowance possible to frontier conditions, grant every excuse to the men engaged in the task of opening a new land, and still there remains evidence of a sadly deficient sense of public morality. When we find all over the North similar conditions which cannot be explained by primitive necessities, the conviction grows that there was something abnormal in the atmosphere. Add to this the testimony of men high in the public estimation of the time, as well as the word of those who have sought an explanation of the social phenomena of that day, and even the naive confessions of that sanctimonious old railroad pirate, Daniel Drew, and it is impossible to conclude that some portion of the explanation is not to be found in the war and its aftermath.<sup>29</sup>

If the Civil War teaches that such a social cataclysm stirs the mud in the depths of the pool, it also reveals the fact that men are stimulated by it to reestimate all social values. Along side the loosing of the baser propensities of mankind there comes

<sup>28</sup> In the *Report of the Committee Appointed to Investigate the Management of the Office of State Auditor* the above facts are brought out in the formal report of the committee as well as in the testimony accompanying the report.

<sup>29</sup> Bouck White, *Book of Daniel Drew, A Glimpse of the Fisk-Gould-Tweed Régime from the Inside*, 161 (New York, 1910); George W. Curtis' speech to the New York State Republican Convention, March 22, 1876, in the *New York Tribune*, March 23, 1876; speech of George F. Hoar in the *Congressional Record*, 44 Congress, 1 session, vol. 4, part 7, p. 63; James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, vol. 7, ch. 1.



a renewed interest in many of those problems whose roots have been slowly entwining themselves about the inmost parts of our social structure. From 1865 down to the panic of 1873 the labor world was shaken by notable convulsions. Unionism, which had had a precarious existence up to the time of the war, advanced with remarkable strides. Educational questions, including the problem of the education of women, were receiving new attention. The temperance movement gained a wider following. The same stimuli that induced reflection along these lines served in time to turn thought to the corrupting sores which had developed in the social body. Those who would renovate an educational system or seek to find the true relations between capital and labor were not long content to tolerate in silence those blots upon our political organization which anyone could perceive if he stopped to observe.

In times like these one naturally desires to learn whether it is possible to draw upon the experiences of the Sixties for guidance in our present crisis and in the years which are to follow the War of 1917. Unfortunately, perhaps, it appears that general conditions are so dissimilar that little of a positive nature can be found. Among the more striking differences may be noted the fact that the Civil War in no way depleted the world's accumulated store of products as the present war is doing. The South was impoverished by the conflict and even yet has not recovered all the ground lost, but the resources of the North were not drained to an appreciable extent. This was due in part to the fact that so great a portion of the country was as yet untouched. Natural resources undreamed of in 1865 were to be discovered as the years passed, as, for example, the iron mines of Minnesota. Even more it was due to a failure to destroy on such a colossal scale as that on which the world now destroys.

America, after the close of the Civil War, offered to the people of the world an opportunity unequalled elsewhere. Migration on an unprecedented scale, arrested temporarily by economic depression in the Seventies and again in the Nineties,



sent workers to develop untouched possibilities. When the present war closes America will no longer be the outlet for the land-hungry people of Europe. Some less desirable remnants of land will be found here and there, but, except in parts of Canada, the land will not be given away to the asker. Furthermore, it is even a question whether there will not be a reverse process. There are indications that there may be a movement back to Europe which will most decidedly affect our future social and economic life.

The Civil War does not help us to see our path in matters of collective control of transportation, food, fuel, manufactures, or in any of the vital problems with which we are now grappling under abnormal conditions but which we shall find ourselves unable to drop the moment peace is declared. We shall find that we have clasped the handles of an electric machine the current of which will paralyze our efforts to relax our muscles. The world has gone far since 1865 in its ideas of the relation of the individual to the community.

There is, however, one ray of light which the earlier war and its effects throw upon existing and future problems. The partial economic emancipation and consequent general advance in status gained by women during the Rebellion was not lost when peace came. It can confidently be stated that what is being gained now will be retained; not only that, but it will serve as another stepping stone toward political, social, and economic equality with men. We shall not go back.

Could we predict with equal confidence along other lines it would be possible to guide our activities today in such a manner that the grosser blunders might be avoided. But, after all is said and done, about the extent of safe prophecy is this: war, under modern conditions, unsettles many if not most of our institutions; it is as futile to dream of getting back to the world in which we lived before 1914 as it is to believe we are in the last month by failing to tear a leaf from the calendar. Nevertheless, it will be the aim of many people to execute just this reverse. If the Civil War brings home the lesson



that it caused men to modify their course and that when it was ended society was marching in a somewhat different direction than it had been before, then it is possible to keep in mind that the same thing will be true when this war ends, with this sole qualification: there can be no comparison in the magnitude of the change.

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## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### THE HISTORICAL RECORDS OF THE SCANDINAVIANS IN AMERICA.

In recent years a considerable amount of scholarly research has been carried on in the field of the history of the Scandinavian element in the United States. An illuminating illustration of the opportunities open to the scientific historian is afforded in Dr. John O. Evjen's recently published book, *Scandinavian Immigrants in New York, 1630-1674*. That this field has been but little cultivated need scarcely be pointed out. Topics important as well as attractive await the attention of the investigator. Indeed, it may safely be asserted that a great deal of carefully prepared monographic literature must be produced before a definitive general treatment of the subject can be written. The industrial or economic history of a specific group of Scandinavians, or of that element as a whole, in the Northwest, or in a single state of the Northwest; a study of their political influence, similarly restricted in scope; an investigation of some of the ramifications of the process of amalgamation, perhaps particularly in the direction of church affiliation or religious tendencies; various aspects of their church history; biographies of leaders in diverse fields of activity; studies placing emphasis upon social and general cultural factors in the development of Scandinavian life in the United States; the problem of the significance of the Scandinavians in the American westward movement: all these topics serve merely to suggest profitable subjects for monographic study.

An undertaking necessarily preliminary to such research is the comprehensive collecting of the materials for the history of the Scandinavian element. In fact, this may well be regarded as a matter of far more immediate importance than



intensive research. Would it not be wise to attempt to assemble at some central depository the rich sources which at present are scattered throughout the Northwest and elsewhere? Not a little of this material is now located in the libraries of numerous denominational colleges; much of it is to be found in private collections. Some of it, fortunately, is accessible to students and is well cared for by persons who realize its historical value. But it is to be feared that a far greater amount—particularly of manuscript materials, collections of letters, diaries, and other valuable papers—is in the possession of persons having little or no appreciation of its significance, and is consequently neglected and in serious danger of destruction from disintegration, fire, and other causes. The immigration is on the whole comparatively recent. Much valuable source material is therefore contemporary or nearly so, and in many cases it is difficult to draw any clear cut line between primary and secondary materials. Important chapters in the fascinating story of the Scandinavians in the new world, of their dissemination throughout the country, of their social, political, economic, and religious life, will ultimately have to be reconstructed from the kind of materials now largely neglected. The permanent loss of these precious records would prove a calamity no less unnecessary than historically unfortunate. In this connection, the story of a journal written by one of the early leaders in the movement of immigration to America is of interest. When Ansten Nattestad left Illinois in 1838 on a journey to Norway via New Orleans and Liverpool, he carried with him the manuscripts of Ole Rynning's famous "America Book" and Ole Nattestad's account of his observations and experiences. Both of these were published in Norway as small books and had a considerable influence upon emigration in the following years. For many years scholars have been searching for a copy of Nattestad's book. Nattestad himself lived to be an old man, and it appears that in the Eighties he gave to the editor of *Skandinaven* a manuscript copy of his book which he had preserved. Shortly thereafter



the editor's home was destroyed by fire, and with it the manuscript. In 1900 two sons of Ole Nattestad located a printed copy while on a visit to Norway. In January, 1916, this copy was secured by Mr. Havlor L. Skavlem who turned it over to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. As Ole Nattestad was the first Norwegian settler in the state of Wisconsin this was fitting. Moreover it is most fortunate that the book will now be permanently preserved, since, so far as is known, it is the only copy in existence. The title will at once indicate its great interest as a document of the early immigration: *Beskrivelse over en Reise til Nordamerika, begyndt den 8de April 1837 og skrevet paa Skibet Hilda samt siden fortsat paa Reisen op igjennem de Forenede Stater i Nordamerika, af Ole Knudsen Nattestad fra Nummedal (Drammen, 1839. 31 p.).*

The loss of this book would probably have been irretrievable. Beyond question there are hundreds of other documents, printed or manuscript, which will be lost permanently if no organized effort is made to insure their preservation. They may not have the peculiar significance that the Nattestad pamphlet possessed, but may, however, have real value. Is it not a proper time to agree upon some well formulated, comprehensive plan for the care of these sources? The problem involves more than the gathering up of materials in imminent danger of loss or destruction. The student who undertakes serious study in the field of Scandinavian-American history is confronted with the perplexing task of utilizing sources which are scattered about in dozens of places, many of them difficult to reach, few of them centrally located. This has acted, naturally, as a deterrent upon scholars attracted by the subject matter and has likewise proved a cause of incomplete and unauthoritative work. Moreover it is well-nigh impossible to ascertain precisely what may be found in the various depositories, a condition due not merely to an absence of published lists or descriptions of materials, but also to a lack of adequate cataloguing. A more serious defect in the present system,



however, is that few of the small libraries have adequate vaults or fireproof rooms in which to preserve their collections, and it must be remembered that much of this material can not be duplicated. This of course holds true more especially of manuscripts. Finally, the small college libraries are usually handicapped by a lack of financial resources and of library equipment.

The solution of the problem is to centralize these Scandinavian materials in some depository which gives assurance of being a permanent institution and which has the resources necessary to an extensive effort in accumulating a great collection of printed and manuscript documents, and to an adequate and scientific care of the materials which it secures. It must arrange the manuscripts, repair and restore the damaged and indistinct papers, carefully index them, publish bibliographies, descriptive lists, and calendars. Furthermore, under competent editorial direction it must undertake the publishing of important manuscripts in its possession. It must above all be centrally located in order to allow extensive utilization of its collections by students and investigators.

The great bulk of the Scandinavian population in the United States is in the Northwest, and the Twin Cities, Minneapolis and St. Paul, form the heart of this region. Here are centered many of the agencies—religious, social, and industrial—which embrace in their scope the great mass of Scandinavians in America. Here gather most of the great annual conventions of their organizations. Here, too, are situated not only the University of Minnesota, but a number of the more important Scandinavian denominational colleges. In many respects Minneapolis and Saint Paul may be considered the cultural center of these people in the United States. Not long ago Dr. Vincent as president of the University of Minnesota declared his intention of striving to make that institution the center for Scandinavian study in this country, a proposal which elicited wide spread endorsement among educators. By its activity as well as its location the university may be considered



in a fair way to accomplish its expressed purpose in this respect. It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the Twin Cities should logically be the Mecca of historical investigators in this field, and that, all things considered, here is a proper place to build up a great, permanent library of the records of the Scandinavians in America.

The Minnesota Historical Society, situated in Saint Paul, has recently made a declaration of policy which gives promise of a successful solution of the problem. As a state historical society this institution has fittingly specialized in the collecting of materials relating to the history of the Northwest, and particularly the state of Minnesota. During the period since its founding—soon seventy years—the society has grown to be one of the greatest institutions of its kind in the United States. A magnificent and commodious fireproof building, costing in the neighborhood of a half a million dollars, has just been erected by the state for the purposes of the society. In 1915 the superintendent of the society declared that the institution would bend its efforts toward the building up of a great library of Scandinavian materials. This, in his opinion, is an undertaking peculiarly appropriate for the Minnesota Historical Society, because of the significant part played by Scandinavians in the history of Minnesota and of the Northwest. Just as it is proposed to make the university a great center for the study of the Scandinavian countries, their languages and literatures, so it is intended to make the society a center for the study of the Scandinavians in this country. The society has proceeded vigorously to carry out its policy. Already the recipient of the principal newspapers and periodicals published by the Scandinavians in the United States, it has begun the task of collecting files of old papers and magazines, reports of religious organizations and educational institutions, as well as books, pamphlets, and manuscripts. An arrangement has been effected with the University of Minnesota whereby the latter is to cultivate the field of the Scandinavian countries, languages, and literatures, and turn over



to the society its materials on the Scandinavians in this country. As a consequence of this arrangement the society has acquired the extensive O. N. Nelson collection of periodicals, newspapers, books, and pamphlets. Formerly one of the most comprehensive private collections of its kind, this has now been arranged and catalogued, and forms the nucleus of what, it is hoped, will become a special library unparalleled in America. Other important acquisitions, both printed and manuscript, have been made, and the materials will ultimately be put in charge of a trained librarian familiar with the Scandinavian languages and with the history of the Scandinavians in this country.

The success of this undertaking must depend largely upon the degree of coöperation accorded it by individuals and organizations having at heart the preservation of these records. No less noble and thrilling than the story of the Puritan fathers is this history of the vast wave of Scandinavian immigration to the West. The environment in the old world, the eventful voyage to the new, the dissemination throughout the continent, the breaking of ground, the building of homes and churches, the beginning of educational activity, the establishment of a position in labor and industry, the gradual entrance into American life in all its multiform phases: these are elements in an epic half untold, glorious in its recital of achievement, and full of inspiring lessons. Surely we can not do less than preserve for posterity the extant records of this great movement. Let us adopt a mature plan, based upon sound, scientific principles, and thus insure for future generations the priceless treasures of the past and the present.

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## REV. ARTHUR E. JONES

Rev. Father Arthur Edward Jones, archivist of St. Mary's College, Montreal, Quebec, died in that city on January 19, 1918. As archivist of the Jesuits he possessed unrivalled opportunities for historical investigation which he utilized to good purpose in the publication of much material bearing on the story of the early explorers and missionaries of his order. He was associated with Dr. Thwaites in the editing of the *Jesuit Relations* and made important contributions to that great work. His more important work, however, was in connection with the missions to the Huron Indians around the Georgian Bay. His work took two main lines, to find the sites of the chief mission stations and to record the services of all who had any part in those mission enterprises. The results were set forth in the *Fifth Annual Report* of the Ontario Archives Department in 1909 under the title "Huronian," bringing together practically all the data he had unearthed with regard to these missions. The volume is an indispensable work of reference to anyone studying Jesuit activity in America in the seventeenth century. Of late Father Jones had been working more or less on the linguistic writings of Father Potier, the originals of which, in five bulky volumes, are in the archives of St. Mary's College. These writings, made at a time when the Huron tongue was at the height of its use, were to have been issued in photo-facsimile by the Ontario Government and this plan, held up by the war, will probably be carried through when peace comes. Father Jones was a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, a member of several of the historical societies of the United States, and was honored a few years ago with the degree of Doctor of Laws of the University of Toronto.

FRED LANDON

LONDON, ONTARIO



REMOVAL OF THE SIOUX INDIANS FROM  
MINNESOTA.

The demand from the people of Minnesota that the Sioux Indians be removed beyond the boundaries of the state came as a natural result of the horrors of the Sioux outbreak in August, 1862. Ignatius Donnelly, the lieutenant governor, in a report of the massacre made to Governor Ramsey as early as August 29, declared that the Indians "must disappear or be exterminated." The reason he gave was that otherwise immigration to the state would stop. The commissioner of Indian affairs in his formal report to the secretary of the interior in November spoke of the "exasperation of the people of Minnesota," and the secretary himself urged that the government abandon its policy of treating the Indians as quasi-independent nations with whom treaties must be made, that it recognize in theory what had long been the practice, that the Indians were to be moved on whenever their lands were needed by advancing settlements.<sup>1</sup>

The general policy advocated by the secretary was not adopted at this time, but as soon as Congress met the specific problem of the removal of the Indians from Minnesota was taken up. Mr. Windom secured the adoption by the House of a resolution by which the committee on Indian affairs was "instructed to inquire as to the most speedy and economical mode of removing beyond the limits of the State of Minnesota all the Indian tribes within said state."<sup>2</sup> In the end the Chippewa were not interfered with at this time, but an act approved February 16, 1863, declared that the Sioux by "most savage war upon the United States" had lost all their treaty rights, and that "all lands and rights of occupancy within the State of Minnesota . . . be forfeited to the United States." This was followed by an act authorizing the president to remove the Sioux

<sup>1</sup> Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report*, 1862, pp. 7, 22, 68.

<sup>2</sup> 37 Congress, 3 session, *House Journal*, 10 (serial 1155).



Indians to "a tract of unoccupied land outside of the limits of any state."<sup>3</sup>

From this action one might think that there was in Minnesota a formidable band of Sioux Indians. This was not at all the case. Of the 6,600 annuity Sioux of the Mississippi, only about eighteen hundred had surrendered to General Sibley; the rest had escaped to Dakota or Canada. Of the eighteen hundred, over three hundred were held as prisoners in a camp near Mankato. The others, who were at Fort Snelling, were the only ones to whom the law could be applied. Of these, Galbraith, the Indian agent, wrote January 27, 1863: "there are only sixty men, and those mostly old ones." It was this band of women, children, and old men which was deported in 1863.<sup>4</sup>

One of the best friends the Indians had at this time was the Presbyterian missionary Rev. Thomas S. Williamson, who had worked among the Sioux since 1835. When the Indians were rounded up by Sibley the missionary called to his aid his son, John P. Williamson, who at the time was teaching school in Indiana. Early in 1863 this son received from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions the appointment to go with the Sioux to their new home for permanent work among them. An account of his journey with these poor Indians, contained in a letter written to his mother, was found in a collection of Williamson papers recently presented to the Minnesota Historical Society. This letter, printed below, contains information about the circumstances of the trip and the conditions under which it was performed.

FRANCES H. RELF

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ST. PAUL

<sup>3</sup> United States, *Statutes at Large*, 12: 652-654, 819.

<sup>4</sup> Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report*, 1863, p. 296.



JOHN P. WILLIAMSON TO HIS MOTHER, MAY 13, 1863

[Williamson Papers—A. L. S.]

ST. JOSEPH MO. MAY 13, 1863

MY DEAR MOTHER,

I am glad to have the time to write you a few lines, for I know you will be anxious to hear how we are getting along. For myself I am in very good health in deed, and the Indians with us are as well as when we started. There was one small child died and we buried it at a wood yard a little below Burlington, Iowa.

You will have heard long ago some things about us starting. 770<sup>5</sup> left on Monday the 4th of May in the Steamboat Hannibal.<sup>6</sup> They were all Lower Sioux.<sup>7</sup> Mr Hinmann<sup>8</sup> and Thos. A Robertson<sup>9</sup> went with them and I waited till the next day about dark when the rest got on board the Northerner. There were 540 of them.<sup>10</sup> We also left about 200 who were going to be let go around with the Scouts.<sup>11</sup> Among those we left

<sup>5</sup> There were 762 Indians according to the *St. Paul Daily Press* and the *St. Paul Pioneer* for May 5, 1863. The *Press* adds that in the whole company there were only about fifty men.

<sup>6</sup> The *St. Paul* papers state that "Davenport" was the name of the boat.

<sup>7</sup> They included the bands of Wabasha, Good Road, Wakute, Passing Hail, and Red Legs. *St. Paul Press*, May 5, 1863.

<sup>8</sup> "The Rev. S. D. Hinman, a zealous missionary to the Dacotahs, who was in charge of the Mission of St. John at Red Wood, at the time of the breaking out of the Indian War, accompanied the Indians who left on Monday evening in the steamer Davenport, and will remain in charge of them on their new reservation near Fort Randall, Missouri."—*St. Paul Pioneer*, May 6, 1863.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas A. Robertson is listed as a half-breed in the census of the Indian camp at Fort Snelling taken December 2, 1862. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report*, 1863, p. 316.

<sup>10</sup> The *St. Paul Press* of May 6 gives the number as 334. The same account adds that they consisted of the bands of Taopi, Eagle Head, and Yellow Medicine.

<sup>11</sup> In May, 1863, General Sibley led an expeditionary force of about four thousand men against the uncaptured Sioux. Part of this force consisted of 170 scouts headed by Major Joseph R. Brown who had preceded Galbraith as agent to the Sioux. William W. Folwell, *Minnesota, the North Star State*, 234.



at Ft Snelling were all the Renvilles<sup>12</sup> including the Widow,<sup>13</sup> Paul, Simon, Kawanke, and all the Campbells.<sup>14</sup> We had a very pleasant trip down to Hannibal which you know is a little below Quincy on the Missouri side—where we got Saturday evening about 4 O'clock. We stayed there over the Sabbath which I was very glad of, though we did not have much rest. There were so many visitors thronging around them all day. We had the large freight depot for the Indians where we had meeting twice & shut most of the whites out. We left there Monday afternoon about 3 O'clock. They crowded them into freight cars about 60 in a car, and I thought that they would suffer a great deal, but it came up a rain & cooled off the air so that when we got off here the next morning (yesterday) they got off in good spirits. And we are now camped in 60 soldiers tents waiting for the boat that is to take us up the river. It will probably be 2 or 3 days before it is here & then we shall probably be nearly two weeks going up the river, so that I have not much expectation of getting to our new home before the first of June. They did not bring the other Indians by the same route that we have come but took them down to St Louis, and we are now waiting for them. They expect to put us all on the same boat. If they do I think it will be nearly as bad as the middle passage for the slaves. Coming down there was enough for comfort in our company of 540—more than would have been comfortable on the Lower deck if they had not had two or three barges all along the way, and on the Missouri river they cant run barges they

<sup>12</sup> The Renvilles were a large family of mixed-bloods. Nine of them are given in a list of scouts made out by Sibley under the date of May 28, 1863. The first on the list, Gabriel, has written an account of the Sioux outbreak in which he claims that it was at his suggestion that the government decided to use half-breeds and even full-blooded Indians who had been faithful to the whites in the capacity of scouts. Sibley Papers; *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10:611.

<sup>13</sup> This was probably the Rosalie Renville who is listed among the heads of families in the census of the Indian camp. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report*, 1863, p. 316.

<sup>14</sup> In Sibley's list of scouts are to be found the names Paul Maza-Koo-ta-Mannee, Simon Awagmannee, Joseph Kawanke, A. J. Campbell, and Scott Campbell. The last two are also listed among the half-breed heads of families in the census of the camp.



say so I dont know where they will stow themselves even if they give them the whole boat. But then folks say they are only Indians.<sup>15</sup> In the manifest of freight taken down by the Northerner they published *30 horses, 540 Indians*.

I am glad I was not with the other Indians for I would rather come the way we have than by St. Louis. St. Joseph is a very pretty place nearly as large I should judge as St Paul, though it shows the effects of the war more than St. Paul. All the way by railroad thro Missouri we could see some of the effects of Secession. Some houses burnt—a good many deserted & the farms gone to rack. Now however all north of the Missouri feel comparatively secure. And they make Secessionists keep shut up pretty close. I have heard more Union talk and less Secesh talk since I came into Missouri than before. We are now just over the river from Kansas and they are a raving kind of Union folks there I judge.

We have not heard anything more about where we are going than when we started. We have only heard that the Superintendent went up past here with some supplies for Indians.<sup>16</sup> The Missouri river is pretty low now but they say a rise is coming down the Platte, and the Missouri generally begins to rise about this time.

I dont get along writing very well as I stay in a tent adjoining the Indian Camp & they keep coming in and bothering me. There is no one along for an interpreter Lorenzo is the best English

<sup>15</sup> The *St. Paul Press* for May 5 gives an account of the treatment the Indians on the "Davenport" received when they passed through St. Paul. Led by a soldier who had been wounded at Birch Coolie the crowd "commenced throwing boulders at the Indians and as they were so closely packed upon the boiler deck as to be scarcely able to move it was impossible for them to escape the missiles. Several of the squaws were hit upon the head and quite severely injured." No violence was reported when the "Northerner" left the next day though again at crowd gathered as the boat lay at levee.

<sup>16</sup> The superintendent was Clark W. Thompson who had come to Minnesota in 1853, and in 1861 had been appointed to the northern superintendency. His headquarters were in St. Paul, but he had gone in advance to purchase supplies and select the new home for the Sioux. He left St. Joseph on May 5 and reached Fort Randall on the nineteenth. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report*, 1863, p. 310.



talker there is. So that they want me to interpret a great deal. The man in charge of these is named Benj. Thompson.<sup>17</sup> Whether Agent Galbraith is going to come around & be our Agent I doubt some, though some who saw him said he expected to come around in a week or so afterwards.<sup>18</sup> And Dr. Wakefield<sup>19</sup> told me he was coming around with him, though I hope to never see him<sup>20</sup> out here, & all the Indians wish the same thing most heartily.

The Indians have a great deal of singing on the road. In the Steamboat in the cars & in the camp & they would sing a good deal more but wherever they sing the Whites gather around so thick that is really very unpleasant.

I hope to hear from you soon by way of Ft Randall

Your own Son

JOHN P. WILLIAMSON

<sup>17</sup> Benjamin Thompson came to St. Paul from Pennsylvania in 1850. His acquaintance with the Sioux, though of a business character, led him to take an active interest in their welfare. He was in sympathy with the work of Joseph R. Brown and the missionaries with the Indians, and this work he himself helped to carry on when in 1867 he became agent of the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands of the Sioux in Dakota Territory. *St. Paul and Minneapolis Daily Pioneer Press*, April 16, 1861; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report*, 1867, p. 245; 1869, pp. 323-326.

<sup>18</sup> Galbraith left St. Paul for St. Joseph May 20, on his way to Fort Randall. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report*, 1863, p. 311.

<sup>19</sup> Dr. J. L. Wakefield located at Shakopee in 1854. He was at this time Indian physician under Galbraith. *St. Paul Pioneer*, February 19, 1874.

<sup>20</sup> The reference is, probably to Galbraith rather than to Wakefield. Galbraith was a political appointee without any special qualifications for the position of Indian agent. His incompetence may have been a factor in bringing about the outbreak in 1862.



## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley: an Account of Marches and Activities of the First Regiment United States Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley between the Years 1833 and 1850.* By LOUIS PELZER. (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1917. x, 282 p.)

From 1833 to 1850, the boundary dates of this book, the frontier of settlement in America remained more nearly permanent than during any similar length of time before or since. It was agreed on all sides that the limit of white settlement was in sight. The great western plains were impossible from an agricultural standpoint; white men could never prosper there. This situation was by no means unfortunate for it made easy the solution of the Indian problem. A wise providence had stocked the plains with an inexhaustible supply of game, thus fitting them superbly to become the future home of all the Indians. Apologies for the policy of removal were, therefore, unnecessary. The whites were manifestly destined to inhabit the eastern half of the continent, but the Far West was as obviously reserved forever to the Indians. Between the two sections a line of forts, garrisoned by United States troops, guaranteed peace to white and redskin alike.

Mr. Pelzer's book is designed to be a "cross sectional view" of the work of the army in maintaining this frontier. The First Regiment of United States Dragoons, whose marches and countermarches it chronicles, was organized in 1833 for service in the West. Recruits from all sections of the union were gathered and trained at St. Louis, and afterwards in detachments, small and large, they were sent throughout the western half of the Mississippi Valley "in the work of frontier defense, garrison duty, treaty negotiations, marches, expeditions, patrol duty, exploration, and in the enforcement of federal laws." During the seventeen years that the book covers, certainly the dragoons engaged in about all the types of army service possible and in



giving a history of their marches the author achieves his objective. The reader gets unmistakable impressions of the character of army life along the frontier.

The facts which the book records, Mr. Pelzer tells us, were gleaned from "officers' reports, the accounts of travellers, post records, diaries, journals, order books, and correspondence," a great quantity of which he has been at some pains to examine. By consolidating the reference notes into about twenty pages at the end of the volume instead of distributing them through the text, as customarily is done, the author avoids the necessity of a formal bibliography, yet presents in compact form a critical estimate of his sources. While the exploitation of this material brings out little that is essentially new, the reader will willingly concede that it "enriches our knowledge of the staples of western history." We are not only given additional proof of the weakness of the American army, but we get "close-up" views of the results of the policy of Indian removal, of the government's efforts to maintain its treaties, and to preserve order among the western settlers as well as among the Indians themselves. We see the soldier unconsciously at work to destroy the frontier he is meant to protect, opening up and guarding new routes of trade and travel, and occasionally revealing the fitness of bits of country for white habitation. We find overwhelming evidence of the efficacy of whiskey, sold at the "exorbitant price" of "25 cts a pt" (p. 31), in undermining the character of Indian and soldier alike.

But the narrative is undeniably monotonous. Possibly part of this monotony is unavoidable, but the plan of the book does nothing to lessen it. The volume contains seventeen chapters of an average length of about twelve pages. Nearly every chapter is the record of an expedition in which some of the dragoons participated. In chapter 4 a visit is made to the Pawnee Pict village, in chapter 5 Colonel Kearny leads his command along the River Des Moines, in chapter 6 the Dragoons march all the way to the Rocky Mountains, this being "the eleventh mounted expedition of Colonel Henry Dodge," and so on. With unavoidable changes of scenery, quantity and quality of Indians, buffalo, and water, each journey is like the other. One recalls almost with



a feeling of affection the ever recurring "From thence they proceeded" of Xenophon's *Anabasis*. Nor is the situation greatly improved by the author's frequent desire to feature "the beauties of a prodigal nature" (p. 54), and to describe minutely the animal life of the plains in precivilized times. Buffalo become especially wearisome. On fifty-seven out of two hundred and thirty-seven pages the diligent indexer has found them in sufficient numbers to justify mention.

An appendix of more than fifty pages reproduces the *Journal* for the spring and summer of 1843 of Captain Nathan Boone, a son of Daniel Boone. In this year Captain Boone as an officer of the Dragoons explored a considerable part of the territory drained by the Arkansas River and its branches, and in the *Journal* he records the daily activities of his party. The document contains extensive, and possibly valuable, observations on the geological formation, vegetation, and game of the region, but on the whole is rather a tedious performance.

JOHN D. HICKS

*The Political History of the Public Lands from 1840 to 1862.*

By GEORGE M. STEPHENSON, PH. D. (Boston, Richard G. Badger, 1917. 296 p.)

In this interesting and valuable study the author has attempted three things: (1) "to trace the history of the public land legislation in Congress;" (2) "to portray the sentiment of the different sections of the country relative to the disposal of the public domain;" and (3) "to estimate the influence of the public lands on the political and legislative situation in general in the period from 1840 to 1862." The study which has been accepted as a doctoral dissertation at Harvard, is based upon extensive research, particularly in the *Congressional Globe* and contemporary newspapers, the former being the principal source for the legislative history and the latter for reflecting the sentiment of the country. The work indicates a careful reading of many newspapers of the period in all sections of the country, the files in the Harvard College Library, the Boston Public Library, the Library of Congress, and the libraries of the state historical societies of Wisconsin and Minnesota being used for this purpose. This



volume will be of particular interest to readers in Minnesota because of the extensive use made of Minnesota newspapers and the frequency of footnote references to this material. The *Congressional Globe* and the newspapers, extensive as the list of the latter is, by no means constitute the only materials covered by the researches of the author. Other materials consist of contemporary correspondence, memoirs, and diaries. The reader is impressed with the careful and diligent work of the author, and the frequency of footnote references makes it possible to check the accuracy of his conclusions. One chapter is devoted to bibliography, but this is not critical as regards secondary material.

The work is divided into fifteen chapters, the first six of which deal with the history of the public lands to the beginning of national homestead agitation. Distribution, preëmption, and graduation, the bearing of these upon the tariff and other questions of the time, and the attitude of the sections towards these various phases of the public land question are carefully traced out by the author. The hostility of the South towards homestead legislation, the connection between the homestead bill and the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and the relation of the homestead question to the election of 1860 are all considered. These chapters constitute a refreshing and, in some ways, a new view of old and familiar topics. The importance of the public lands in our national history has not until recently been adequately considered. That they had a very great importance cannot be doubted; that the importance might be over emphasized in a special study of this kind must also be recognized. The reader of this volume has the feeling that the author has adequately brought out the significance of the public lands without giving them undue importance, particularly as regards the relation of the homestead-movement to the Kansas-Nebraska bill and the election of 1860.

The book is readable and the text is accompanied by several maps showing the votes in Congress on various phases of public land legislation. Some minor errors have crept in, but these in no way mar the many good features of the book, which is a distinct contribution to our knowledge of this interesting and important phase of our history.



*The Fur Trade of North America and Some of the Men Who Made It and Maintain It.* By ALBERT LORD BELDEN. (New York, The Peltries Publishing Company, 1917. 591 p.)

In the absence of both a preface and an introduction the reader can only conjecture that the purpose of the author in writing this book was to provide a handbook of furs and the fur trade. The volume consists of brief sketches and notes on the various aspects of the fur trade, principally in North America. These include descriptions of fur bearing animals and their habits, methods of trapping, the preparation and marketing of skins, the history of the trade in well-known American markets, sketches of men and firms identified with this business, and explanations of trade terms and customs.

It is to be regretted that after having collected a large amount of material the author of this somewhat bulky volume did not spend enough additional time and work in the task of organizing his results to make them readily accessible. The reader is confused by a quantity of information put together with little apparent regard for unity of thought or chronological order. "Early Traders," "New York," "Methods," "Boston," and the modern "Cold Storage" follow each other in rapid succession, while biographical sketches of prominent furriers are inserted between descriptions of "Muskrats" and "Civit Cats," "Automobile Furs" and "Prime—Unprime" furs. There are no references to the sources the author has used, so the reader is unable to determine how exhaustive his study has been. Much of his information seems to have been drawn from secondary material with the result that omissions and errors have crept in. In describing the fur trade in St. Paul and Minneapolis (pp. 92-98) Mr. Belden makes no mention of Henry H. Sibley who, as a partner in the American Fur Company, exercised a powerful influence on the fur trade of the Northwest for many years. Norman W. Kittson (p. 26) did not come to Fort Snelling until 1834. Moreover he was engaged at the fort as a sutler for four years before opening a trading post for himself. In a general survey of the North American fur trade a mere mention is not an adequate notice of Manuel Lisa (p. 81) whose life is inseparably linked with the development of the early Missouri fur



trade. These and similar shortcomings lead to the conclusion that the author has not sufficiently evaluated and organized his material.

Nevertheless the book is an interesting one; it is well printed and attractively illustrated. Much of the material is unique, while an index goes far toward remedying the deficiencies in organization. Doubtless many readers will welcome it as a suggestive and usable reference book.

JEANNETTE SAUNDERS



## MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

An interesting paper on "The Influence of Geographic Factors in the Development of Minnesota" was read by Mr. Chessley J. Posey, assistant professor of geography at the University of Minnesota, at the stated meeting of the executive council on April 8. The meeting was open to the public and was attended by an audience of about sixty members of the society and others.

The museum and gallery on the third floor of the Historical Building were opened to the public on April 8. All exhibits will be temporary in character until the new equipment of cases is received, and even then it is expected that much of the material will be kept in storage the greater part of the time. It will be so arranged, however, as to be readily accessible, and from it selections will be made from time to time for special exhibits. One such special exhibit of objects of war interest was on display during April and plans have been made for exhibits in connection with the dedication of the building. The number of visitors to the museum now averages about sixty a day.

The following new members, all active, have been enrolled during the quarter ending April 31, 1918: Walter L. Mayo and George T. Withy of St. Paul; George M. Stephenson of Minneapolis; and Charles H. Hopkins of Fairfax. Deaths among the members during the same period were as follows: Francis A. Sampson of Columbia, Missouri, February 4; William Jay Whipple of Winona, February 5; Hon. George N. Lamphere of Palouse, Washington, February 10; Hubert Howe Bancroft of San Francisco, March 2; Hon. Lyndon A. Smith of St. Paul, March 5; John A. Stees of St. Paul, April 14; and Hon. Frank Ives of Cass Lake, April 16.

### GIFTS

Through the courtesy of Dr. Folwell the society has received two small but valuable collections of manuscripts. These consist of some papers of Hon. William S. King, presented by his



grandson Mr. Lindon S. King of Minneapolis, and some papers of Rev. T. S. Williamson, the pioneer missionary, presented by Mrs. Helen M. Williamson, widow of his son Henry M. Williamson, who died recently at Portland, Oregon.

Dr. Folwell was also instrumental in obtaining for the society a copy of the "Boyhood Reminiscences of General Huggins," recently written by General Eli Lundy Huggins for his nephews. As the son of Alexander Huggins, a Presbyterian missionary to the Sioux, General Huggins experienced many of the hardships and adventures of pioneer life in Minnesota, some of which he describes most entertainingly. Of especial interest are his account of a trip made in an ox cart from Traverse des Sioux to Lac Qui Parle, October, 1845, and his description of a keel boat voyage from Lac Qui Parle to Kaposia and return, on which he accompanied his parents in August, 1849.

Company C of the One Hundred and Thirty Fifth United States Infantry (First Minnesota) has deposited its trophies with the society for the duration of the war. These consist of a flag used by the company in the battle of Manila, a "National Defense Trophy" shield, and a large number of loving cups. The latter are kept in two mahogany cases which are now placed in the second floor corridor of the Historical Building.

From Dr. Guy S. Ford, a member of the council of this society who is now serving as chairman of the division of civic and educational coöperation of the Committee on Public Information in Washington, the society has received samples of some of the the literature prepared by the Committee on Public Information to be dropped behind the German lines from aeroplanes. These consist of German translations of President Wilson's addresses to Congress on December 5 and January 8. In the latter special attention is drawn by means of underscoring to the parts of the addresses which were not printed in the German papers.

The Plymouth Church (Minneapolis) has presented bound volumes of its calendars for the years 1915, 1916, and 1917, which bring the society's file, beginning with the year 1911, up to January, 1918. With the weekly calendars are bound programs



of various church organizations and pamphlet editions of sermons. This policy of depositing ephemeral material with the society is one that may well be adopted by other churches, for it insures a complete and permanent file that is accessible to the public as well as to the people directly interested in the church.

Mr. Stan. D. Donnelly of St. Paul has presented to the society an excellent portrait of his grandfather, Ignatius Donnelly, painted by Nicholas Brewer about 1890. Inasmuch as the society possesses a very large and valuable collection of the papers of Ignatius Donnelly, it is peculiarly appropriate that this painting should be preserved in its gallery.

To S. W. Frasier of St. Paul and E. F. Joubert of Wheaton the society is indebted for files of the *Browns Valley Reporter* from May 20, 1880 to July 4, 1889 and of the *Inter-Laken Tribune* (Browns Valley) from March to June, 1897. The *Reporter* was started by Mr. Frasier in 1880 and was the first paper printed in Traverse County.

Mrs. E. C. Becker of St. Paul recently presented a framed pastel portrait of her father, George Augustus Hamilton, done by "Jaeger" in 1888. Mr. Hamilton was a member of the society and served as its president in 1869.

The firm of Lee Brothers, photographers of St. Paul, has presented, through Mr. K. L. Fenney, a set of twelve panorama pictures of units of Minnesota troops engaged in the war.

A muzzle-loading rifle, a powder horn, and a deerskin pouch, which were for years the property of John Bateman of Spring Valley, one of the pioneers of southern Minnesota, have been presented by G. W. Bateman of Alexandria and W. H. Loomis of Richey, Montana, son and grandson of Mr. Bateman. A short history of the gun, written by John Bateman in 1905, accompanies the gifts.

Mr. Joseph N. Prokes of Jackson, Minnesota, has presented two old copper kettles found by him several years ago near the Des Moines River in Jackson County. They appear to be of European manufacture, and it is surmised that they were lost or abandoned by some pioneer settler at the time of the Indian outbreak. These articles are interesting additions to the museum.



## NEWS AND COMMENT

The Nebraska State Historical Society has begun the publication of a monthly paper entitled *Nebraska History and Record of Pioneer Days*, the first issue of which appeared in February. The editor, Addison E. Sheldon, superintendent of the society states that "It is the intention to make this journal a piece of popular literature,—as distinguished from academic. It will aim to present in clear and attractive form, fact, story, comment and criticism relating to the history of Nebraska."

In a brief survey entitled, *The American Indians North of Mexico*, (Cambridge, 1917. 169 p.) William H. Miner has undertaken to supply a want which he feels exists for a "readable, comprehensive . . . authentic account of the original inhabitants of the American continent, which may . . . be termed popular." The book contains a bibliography designed especially for the use of persons wishing to begin a reading course on the American Indians.

*The American Indian Magazine* for October–December, 1917, is a special Sioux number, and contains much material of interest to the student of the history of this tribe. Among the contributions are "The Sioux Outbreak of 1862," by Arthur C. Parker, and "The Sioux of Yesterday and Today," by Charles A. Eastman.

An article on "Indian Land Titles in Minnesota," by Gordon Cain, in the February number of the *Minnesota Law Review* summarizes the legal aspects of the famous White Earth land cases which play so prominent a part in the recent history of the Ojibway Indians.

Both the March and the April issues of *Iowa and War* contain material of Minnesota interest. The former consists of a brief sketch of "The Black Hawk War," by Jacob Van der Zee, and the latter is devoted to an account of "Border Defense in Iowa During the Civil War," by Dan E. Clark. Mr. Clark's



narrative treats of the effect upon the neighboring state of the Sioux uprising in Minnesota.

A suggestive piece of work in the field of local history is *Iowa Stories*, Book One, (Iowa City, 1917. 138 p.) by Clarence R. Aurner. The book is a series of brief essays on Iowa pioneer life, written in a simple style for the use of school children.

*The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829* (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1918. 352 p.) is a valuable contribution to the history of the Far West. The editor, Harrison Clifford Dale, has included, besides the original journals, accounts of the fur trade and explorations in the region before and during the period covered by the journals themselves.

Ernest Cawcroft contributes a sketch of "Donald Mackenzie; King of the Northwest," to the February issue of the *Canadian Magazine*. In it he states that a biography of this important figure in the history of the fur trade is being written by Alexander Mackenzie of Toronto.

"A Comparison of Transportation on the Mississippi Basin Rivers and the Great Lakes," by A. E. Parkins, in the *Journal of Geography* for February deals mainly with present day conditions but contains some historical material.

In its series on "State Builders of the West," the *Western Magazine* includes sketches of "Stephen Miller, Fourth Governor of Minnesota," in the February number and "William R. Marshall, Fifth Governor of Minnesota," in the April number. The April number contains also a sketch of St. Cloud, under the heading "O-za-te (The Forks of the Road)," by C. L. Llewellyn, which is partly historical. In the March number is an article entitled "Developing an Insurance Center," by Edmond L. DeLestry, which contains information about the history of insurance companies in the Twin Cities.

Sections five and six of the second volume of *Danske i Amerika*, which appeared recently, contain considerable material relating to the Danish element in Minnesota. The publication of this work was begun by the C. Rasmussen Company, Minneapolis,



in 1917. The first volume deals with the Danish immigration as a whole, while the second volume, which is being published serially, contains studies of this element in special localities.

*En Norsk Bygds Historie* (1917. 240 p.) is the title of a history of a Norwegian settlement in North Bottineau County, North Dakota, by Olav Redal. The book contains a large amount of biographical material.

*Salomons Almanak for 1917: De Forenende Staters Danske Almanak, Haand og Aarbog* (Seattle, 1917. 208 p.) is the fourth of an interesting series of year books edited by Michael Salomon. In addition to a valuable collection of data on the Danish element in the United States, the book contains a "Who's Who" of Danish Americans.

The translation of Ole Rynning's *True Account of America* by Theodore C. Blegen, which appears in the November number of the BULLETIN, is noticed in two Scandinavian papers. In the *Minneapolis Tidende* of February 28, Carl G. O. Hansen discusses Mr. Blegen's work at some length, including in his review a sketch of Rynning. A briefer notice is printed in the February 20 issue of *Folkebladet* (Minneapolis). Both reviewers feel that the translating and editing of this little book is an important contribution to the study of the Scandinavian element in America.

The *History Teachers' Magazine* for February reprints Carl Becker's article on "The Monroe Doctrine and the War" from the May, 1917, number of the MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN.

The *Minneapolis Tribune* of March 31 contains an article entitled "The Giant Dam That Harnesses Energy of Mighty Chippewa River," which is of interest to Minnesotans because it attributes the early development of water power on the Chippewa to one of Minnesota's pioneer lumbermen, Frederick Weyerhaeuser. As a preface to a description of a large present-day project to utilize the water power of the Chippewa Falls, the *Tribune* tells of the lumber mills operated by the Chippewa Lumber and Boom Company, in which Mr. Weyerhaeuser was a controlling factor, in the days when lumbering was at its height in that region.



The November 4, 1917, issue of the *La Crosse Tribune and Leader-Press* contains an excellent biographical sketch of Cadwallader C. Washburn who, while not a citizen of Minnesota, was closely identified with its economic history as the builder and developer of the famous Washburn mills, which he established in Minneapolis in 1876.

Under the title "Interesting Grain Case of 1869-72" the *Lake City Graphic Republican* of March 22 prints the history of a suit started by some Wabasha County farmers to determine the title to a large amount of wheat which had been secretly sold and shipped by the Atkinson and Kellogg Elevator Company, with whom the farmers had deposited their grain for safe-keeping.

The March 10 issue of the *Minneapolis Journal* contains an article in which the general development of the banking business in Minneapolis during the last quarter of a century is discussed in connection with an account of some of the earlier banks and bankers.

"Fifty Years Old Today," is the title of an historical résumé of the *St. Paul Dispatch* which appears in the February 28 issue of that paper. In addition to an account of the growth and development of the *Dispatch*, the article contains biographical material concerning the men most closely identified with its history.

"The History of Medicine in Minneapolis," by Dr. Arthur S. Hamilton is published in three parts in the *Journal-Lancet*, beginning with the March number. The article contains considerable valuable material, much of which the author gathered from the files of the Twin City newspapers.

The reminiscences of George Day, in which he describes his experiences as a pioneer in the region of Excelsior, have appeared serially in recent issues of the *Minnetonka Record*. Of especial interest is his account of the numerous unsuccessful attempts to establish cities on the shores of Lake Minnetonka, most of which failed during the Panic of 1857.

In an article entitled, "University of Minnesota Will Be 50 Years Old Tomorrow," the *Minneapolis Journal* of February 17



surveys briefly conditions in the University when it was established and at the present time. Pictures of "Old Main," the first president, William Watts Folwell, and President Burton, accompany the article.

The origin of township names in Dakota County is discussed in the January 18 issue of the *Dakota County Tribune*.

A brief history of the Christian Church at Austin is printed in the *Mower County Transcript-Republican* of January 23 in connection with an account of the dedication of a new church building.

The February 27 issue of the *St. Cloud Times* contains an historical résumé of the congregation of the First Presbyterian Church of St. Cloud, which dedicated a new church building Sunday, February 24.

In its account of the annual meeting of the Waseca County Anti-Horse Thief Detective Society held at Waseca, February 16, the *Waseca Journal Radical* of February 20 tells something of the early work of this organization, which was established in pioneer days.

The Lake Pepin Valley Old Settlers' Association held its annual meeting at Lake City, February 7; the Winona County Old Settlers' Association met at Winona, February 22; the Danish Pioneers met in Minneapolis, February 24; and the annual meeting of the Canby Old Settlers' Association was held at Canby, March 13.

In its issues from November 3, to February 9 the *Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington, Iowa) publishes an account of the "Indian Outbreak" by William Cairncross in which he tells of his experiences in the region of Fort Ridgely and New Ulm during the Sioux uprising. The "Tales of a Grandfather" by the same author, which are now appearing in the *Post*, contain considerable information concerning early social and economic conditions in Minnesota.



The first of these was the discovery of gold in California in 1848. This discovery led to a great influx of people into California, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The second was the discovery of gold in Nevada in 1859. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Nevada, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The third was the discovery of gold in Colorado in 1859. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Colorado, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union.

The fourth was the discovery of gold in Idaho in 1860. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Idaho, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The fifth was the discovery of gold in Montana in 1862. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Montana, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The sixth was the discovery of gold in Wyoming in 1869. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Wyoming, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union.

The seventh was the discovery of gold in Utah in 1871. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Utah, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The eighth was the discovery of gold in Arizona in 1876. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Arizona, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The ninth was the discovery of gold in New Mexico in 1878. This discovery led to a great influx of people into New Mexico, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The tenth was the discovery of gold in Texas in 1880. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Texas, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union.

The eleventh was the discovery of gold in Oklahoma in 1889. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Oklahoma, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The twelfth was the discovery of gold in Kansas in 1890. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Kansas, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The thirteenth was the discovery of gold in Nebraska in 1891. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Nebraska, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The fourteenth was the discovery of gold in Iowa in 1892. This discovery led to a great influx of people into Iowa, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union.



# PUBLICATIONS OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

- COLLECTIONS, volume 1. Reprint of the *Annals* of the society published 1850-1856, containing miscellaneous papers and sketches. 1902. xii, 430 p. Cloth, \$2.50
- COLLECTIONS, volume 2. Miscellaneous documents and papers. 1860-1867. 294 p. Cloth, \$3.50
- COLLECTIONS, volume 3. Miscellaneous papers, sketches, and memoirs. 1870-1880. viii, 433 p. Cloth, \$3.50
- COLLECTIONS, volume 4. *History of the City of St. Paul and County of Ramsey, Minnesota*, by J. Fletcher Williams. 1876. 475 p. Out of print
- COLLECTIONS, volume 5. *History of the Ojibway Nation*, by William W. Warren. 1885. 535 p. Cloth, \$3.50
- COLLECTIONS, volume 6. Miscellaneous papers, sketches, and memoirs. 1887-1894. iv, 556 p. Cloth, \$3.50
- COLLECTIONS, volume 7. *The Mississippi River and Its Source*, by J. V. Brower. 1893. xv, 360 p. Cloth, \$2.50
- COLLECTIONS, volume 8. Miscellaneous papers, sketches, and memoirs. 1895-1898. xii, 542 p. Cloth, \$2.50
- COLLECTIONS, volume 9. Miscellaneous papers, sketches, and memoirs. 1901. xiv, 694 p. Cloth, \$2.50
- COLLECTIONS, volume 10. Miscellaneous papers, sketches, and memoirs. 1905. xvi, viii, 938 p. in 2 parts. Cloth, \$5.00
- COLLECTIONS, volume 11. *Itasca State Park, an Illustrated History*, by J. V. Brower. 1905. 285 p. Cloth, \$2.50
- COLLECTIONS, volume 12. Miscellaneous papers, sketches, and memoirs. 1909. xx, 827 p. Cloth, \$2.50
- COLLECTIONS, volume 13. *Lives of the Governors of Minnesota*, by James H. Baker. 1908. xii, 480 p. Cloth, \$2.50
- COLLECTIONS, volume 14. *Minnesota Biographies, 1655-1912*, by Warren Upham and Mrs. Rose B. Dunlap. 1912. xxviii, 892 p. Cloth, \$2.50
- COLLECTIONS, volume 15. Miscellaneous papers, sketches, and memoirs. 1915. xv, 872 p. Cloth, \$2.50
- THE ABORIGINES OF MINNESOTA: *A Report Based on the Collections of Jacob V. Brower, and on the Field Surveys and Notes of Alfred J. Hill and Theodore H. Lewis*, by N. H. Winchell. 1911. xiv, 761 p., quarto.  $\frac{3}{4}$  leather, \$5.00
- MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN, volume 1, eight numbers. Papers, documents, reviews, and notes. February, 1915-November, 1916. 590 p. Paper, \$2.00; cloth, \$2.50
- MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN, volume 2, numbers 1-6. Papers, documents, reviews, and notes. February, 1917-May, 1918. 439 p. Paper, \$1.50



